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Page: 1
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PAGE 01 BUJUMB 02262 01 OF 02 301636Z
 ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00	COME-00
	OASY-00	DS-00	FBO-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ADS-00
	MFLO-03	MMP-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIS-01
	OPR-01	PC-01	PER-01	PM-00	PRS-01	SCT-03	SSO-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00	ASDS-01	FMP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00

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O 301636Z JUN 94
 FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4001
 CIA WASHDC PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
 SECDEF WASHDC//ASD:FM&P// PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
 DIRNSA WASHDC PRIORITY
 HQDA WASHDC//DAPE:// PRIORITY
 JOINT STAFF WASHDC//J-3: JOD/ATE, PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 002262

STATE FOR AF/C AND AF/EX

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: AEMR, AMGT, BY
 SUBJECT: RECOMMEND END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE IN BURUNDI

REF: BUJUMBURA 1885

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUJUMB 02262 01 OF 02 301636Z
 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. ON JUNE 29, BY A VOTE OF 10 TO ONE, THE EMERGENCY ACTION COMMITTEE AGREED THAT U.S. AND BURUNDIAN INTERESTS WILL BE BEST SERVED BY AN IMMEDIATE END TO ORDERED DEPARTURE.
 TWELFTH PERSON RECOMMENDED AS A COMPROMISE THAT THE ORDER BE REVIEWED IF THE QUESTION OF BURUNDI'S PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IS SUBSEQUENTLY RESOLVED.)
 3. THE REASONS FOR THIS DECISION SEEM CLEAR TO THOSE RESIDENT

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
 DATE/CASE ID: 23 JAN 2004 200301564

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1994BUJUMB02262

Page: 2

Channel: n/a

AND WORKING HERE. BEFORE LISTING THEM, LET ME RECALL, FRO MEMORY AND PERHAPS INACCURATELY, SOME LINES FROM THE OPENIN SCENE OF SHAKESPEARE'S "TEMPEST," IN WHICH A ROYAL ADVISO REMINDS THE SHIP'S CAPTAIN OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE KING' LIFE, SAYING, "KEEP IN MIND WHO IT IS WHOM YOU HAVE ABOARD" TO THIS THE SHIP'S CAPTAIN REPLIED, "NONE THAT I LOVE MOR THAN MYSELF." I SUPPOSE THAT IF THERE ARE ANY WHOM MEMBERS O THE EMERGENCY ACTION COMMITTEE MIGHT LOVE MORE THAN THEMSELVE IT WOULD BE THEIR DEPENDENTS AND FAMILY. YET, THE COMMITTE ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY BELIEVES BOTH THAT IT IS SAFE FO DEPENDENTS AND ALL PERSONNEL TO RETURN, AND THAT THIS ACTIO WOULD BEST SERVE U.S. AND BURUNDIAN INTERESTS.

4. THE REASONS ARE THESE:

-- FIRST, THERE IS NO EVIDENCE FROM THE HISTORY EITHER OF TH PAST THREE MONTHS, OR THE PAST 30 YEARS, THAT AMERICA CITIZENS ARE IN PARTICULAR DANGER HERE. BURUNDI IS A EXTREMELY DANGEROUS PLACE FOR MANY BURUNDIANS, BUT HAS NO BEEN FOR AMERICANS, AND DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE PARTICULARLY S NOW. A COUNTRY, LIKE AN INDIVIDUAL, SHOULD BE CONSIDERE INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY. BURUNDI HAS A BAD CRIMINA

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BUJUMB 02262 01 OF 02 301636Z
RECORD AGAINST ITS OWN CITIZENS, BUT HAS HAD NO ATTACKS AND N OFFENSE AGAINST AMERICANS. IT IS UNFAIR AND ILLOGICAL T EXPECT BURUNDI TO IMPROVE ITS RECORD TOWARD AMERICANS, SINCE IT HAS NO RECORD OF ATTACKS AGAINST THEM.

-- SECOND, THE DEPARTURE WAS ORDERED AS A PRECAUTIONAR MEASURE WHEN IT WAS FELT THAT VIOLENCE WOULD SPILL OVER FRO RWANDA INTO BURUNDI. THREE MONTHS LATER THAT HAS NO HAPPENED. BURUNDI AND RWANDA MAY BE BROTHERS OR SISTERS, BU THEY ARE NOT TWINS. THE HORRENDOUS CARNAGE IN RWANDA WAS IN PART PRECIPITATED BY AN INVASION FROM TROOPS TRAINED IN FOREIGN COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH THE SLAUGHTER WAS OFTEN CARRIED OU BY THUGS, STREET GANGS AND LOCAL EXTREMISTS, IT WAS DIRECTL ENCOURAGED BY TWO SEPARATELY TRAINED AND ARMED MILITARY FORCES. BURUNDI HAS HAD INCURSIONS ACROSS ITS BORDERS SUCH A PALIPEHUTU IN 1991, BUT THERE HAS NOT BEEN, NOR IS THERE NOW ANY CREDIBLE MILITARY THREAT TO THE BURUNDIAN ARMY, FOREIGN O DOMESTIC. IF DEPENDENTS AND NONESSENTIAL PERSONNEL WER REMOVED FROM BURUNDI BECAUSE OF THE FEAR THAT THE WOUND WOUL TEAR FROM RWANDA INTO BURUNDI, THAT FEAR CAN END, BECAUSE THA HAS NOT HAPPENED.

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 2

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1994BUJUMB02262

Page: 3

Channel: n/a

-- THIRD, BURUNDI'S EMERGING DEMOCRACY IS FRAGILE AND FEEBLE BUT ITS WEAKNESS DOES NOT OF ITSELF ENDANGER AMERICA DEPENDENTS AND PERSONNEL. THE PACE OF BURUNDI'S PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION IS STILL PROCEEDING FALTERINGLY. IT MAY BE RESOLVED BEFORE JULY 10, OR MAY NOT BE RESOLVED WITHIN A MUCH LONGER PERIOD, BUT THIS WEAKNESS BRINGS NO DIRECT THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICANS.

-- FOURTH, IT WAS THOUGHT BY GENERAL DALLAIRE THAT UP TO
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BUJUMB 02262 01 OF 02 301636Z
MILLION RWANDANS MIGHT BE DISPLACED IN SOUTHWEST RWANDA AND COULD PROCEED INTO BURUNDI, CAUSING UNREST HERE. UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE SHELLY PITTERMAN INFORMED US THIS MORNING THAT 75,000, NOT 2 MILLION, HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER, BUT THERE HAS

BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT UNREST RESULTING FROM THEIR ARRIVAL AND CERTAINLY THEY HAVE NOT THREATENED AMERICANS.

-- FIFTH, IT WAS THOUGHT THAT THE FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE IN RWANDA MIGHT EVOKE ANTI-WESTERN OR ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING HERE. IN REALITY, HOWEVER, THE PROTEST MARCH ON JUNE 22 BY TUTSIS AGAINST THIS FRENCH ACTION WAS ENTIRELY PEACEFUL, AND NO HOSTILITY TOWARD AMERICANS HAS BEEN REPORTED. IF A FOREIGN COMMUNITY WERE AT THIS TIME TO BE CONSIDERED ENDANGERED IT WOULD BE THE FRENCH. YET, WHILE THEY HAVE HAD SOME STAFF LEAVE EARLY ON SUMMER VACATION AND HAVE RESERVED SPACES ON DEPARTING COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS FOR THOSE WHO MIGHT WISH TO LEAVE, THE AMBASSADOR'S WIFE REMAINS HERE AS DO MOST FRENCH EMBASSY STAFF.

5. THE DCM VOTED TO CONTINUE ORDERED DEPARTURE POINTED TO THE STILL UNCERTAIN PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROCESS, AND, THE INTER-ETHNIC CONFRONTATION IN BURUNDI THAT OCCURRED IN THE

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 BUJUMB 02262 02 OF 02 301637Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AGRE-00	AID-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00	COME-00
OASY-00	DS-00	FBO-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	ADS-00	
MFLO-03	MMP-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIS-01	

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 3

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1994BUJUMB02262

Page: 4

Channel: n/a

OPR-01 PC-01 PER-01 PM-00 PRS-01 SCT-03 SSO-00
SS-00 TRSE-00 USIE-00 ASDS-01 FMP-00 PMB-00 DSCC-00
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O 301636Z JUN 94
FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4002
CIA WASHDC PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
SECDEF WASHDC//ASD:FM&P// PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BUJUMBURA 002262

STATE FOR AF/C AND AF/EX

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AEMR, AMGT, BY
SUBJECT: RECOMMEND END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE IN BURUNDI

LAST FEW DAYS (SEPTEL). BECAUSE A PRIME RESPONSIBILITY IN ANY
EMBASSY IS THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, THE GENERA
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUJUMB 02262 02 OF 02 301637Z
UNCERTAINTY IN BURUNDI DOES NOT, HE BELIEVES, WARRANT A RETURN
OF DEPENDENTS AND "NON-ESSENTIAL" PERSONNEL.

6. THE END OF ORDERED DEPARTURE WILL NOT END THE EMBASSY'
SCRUTINY OR CAUTION. FOR THE FUTURE, WE WOULD WANT, AS TRIP
WIRES, TO CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING:

(A) HAS ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING DEVELOPED, FOR ANY REASON, THA
WOULD ENDANGER AMERICAN CITIZENS?

(B) IS THERE A WELL-ORGANIZED SERIOUS MILITARY FORCE FRO
WITHIN OR WITHOUT BURUNDI'S BORDERS THAT OPPOSES GOVERNMENT
MILITARY FORCES? IF SO, DOES SUCH A CONFLICT THRETE
AMERICANS?

(C) IS THERE A DEGREE OF CRIME OR TERRORISM THAT PUT
AMERICANS IN PERIL?

7. ENDING ORDERED DEPARTURE WOULD ALLOW A RETURN T

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 4

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1994BUJUMB02262

Page: 5

Channel: n/a

EQUILIBRIUM IN THE EMBASSY. MANY AMERICAN PROGRAMS PARTICULARLY THOSE OF AID, ARE AT BEST ON HOLD, AND SOME ARE LIKELY TO BE WITHDRAWN, IF THEY DO NOT PROCEED AT THIS TIME TO MOVE BEYOND NORMALCY TO PROGRESS, THESE EXCELLENT PROGRAMS NEED TO PROCEED.

8. FURTHER, THE BURUNDIAN GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TOWARD DEMOCRACY CAN BE IMMENSELY STRENGTHENED BY THE SUPPORT OF THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL NATION AND ITS OLDEST DEMOCRACY. THE RETURN OF AMERICANS WOULD BE WIDELY VIEWED AS A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRACY ITSELF, AND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP HERE WOULD PROBABLY BE FOLLOWED BY CONFIDENCE INSTILLED IN OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BUJUMB 02262 02 OF 02 301637Z
COMMUNITIES, SOME OF WHOM FOLLOWED OUR LEAD IN THE EXODUS. FRAGILE AS IT IS, BURUNDI'S DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY MAJORITY RULE, DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT IN CENTRAL AFRICA. IS IT NOT FIT AND PROPER THAT THE WORLD'S STRONGEST NATION AND OLDEST DEMOCRACY SHOULD NURTURE THIS FOUNDLING? BURUNDI'S DEMOCRACY HAS JUST BEGUN. IF WE APPEAR TO ABANDON IT BEFORE IT IS EVEN WEANED, OTHERS MAY QUESTION OUR COMMITMENT. BUT IF IT SURVIVES, WITH OUR SUPPORT, IT MIGHT IN LATER YEARS BE A SURPRISING A MODEL OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AS SOUTH AFRICA HAS PROVEN TO BE. AND, THEN, AS IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE U.S. COULD LEGITIMATELY CLAIM, SOME PARENTAGE.

9. FINALLY, THE EMBASSY'S OWN WORK WOULD IMPROVE IN TWO WAYS. FIRST, THE RETURN OF PERSONNEL, INCLUDING THE WORKING SPOUSES WOULD BRING THE EMBASSY BACK TO FULL STRENGTH. BUT SECOND, I WOULD SHOW RESPECT FOR THE JUDGMENT OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE 2 HOURS, YEARS LONG EXPERIENCE ON THE GROUND IN BURUNDI AND WHOSE LIVES ARE DEDICATED TO THE WELLBEING OF OUR COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE.

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Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL

Page: 5

UNCLASSIFIED